

phone supervisor working out of the Illinois facility, that he and his other passengers aboard Flight 93 were planning to overpower the hijackers and to stop their suicide attack. Miss Jefferson cautioned him to consider carefully what he was saying: "Are you sure that that is what you want to do, Todd?" Todd's response: "It's what we have to do."

Mr. Speaker, how often do we hear those words—this is something I have to do—the notion that someone is acting out of a moral imperative is astonishing in this day and age. Well, Todd did it and did it with great distinction and courage.

Many in America before September 11 had become jaded about the notion of selfless sacrifice, Mr. Speaker, of doing what is right even when you know it may cost you your very life. We know from the Scriptures that our Lord Jesus Christ said, "There is no greater love than he who lays down his life for his brother or for his sister," and that is exactly what Todd Beamer has done. Surely he has, is and will be greatly blessed in Heaven for his sacrifice.

Mr. Speaker, the cowardly terrorists counted on both the element of surprise and on the element of intimidation to achieve their awful end, but they did not count on meeting face to face with the likes of Todd Beamer. Todd Beamer was an extraordinary man on what should have been an ordinary flight. And when faced with a horrific set of circumstances, Todd stepped up to the plate and he did what had to be done. And he never, not for a moment, by all accounts, even hesitated.

Instead, Todd drew his courage and strength from his faith. He told Lisa Jefferson, "I don't think we're going to get out of this thing. I'm going to have to go out on faith." Mr. Speaker, his last words, as we all know, and as President Bush has quoted, was "Let's roll." And those words, I think, have mobilized and motivated and inspired all Americans in our current fight in Afghanistan. "Let's roll." Let's stop these terrorists.

Let me finally remind Members of Todd's embrace of Psalm 23, which surely was in Todd's heart in those final moments, where it is said by King David, "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul; he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and staff they comfort me."

A post office memorializing Todd Beamer is the least we in Congress can do to honor his supreme sacrifice. He was a great man; and we honor his widow Lisa—a strong woman in her own right and his family.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Somehow or another, heroes arise in times of great need. Heroes arise in times of great need. At a time of crisis and great need, Todd Beamer and his fellow passengers rose up. And because they rose up, we have the ability to continue to stand up on this floor and protect the rights of Americans and of people all over the world.

So we take this moment not only to designate a post office in honor of Todd Beamer, but we say, "Thank you, Todd. Thank you, passengers and crew of Flight 93."

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

□ 1300

Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO).

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, every time we hear of the deeds of the folks like Todd Beamer on Flight 93, we are left with the kind of introspection that can be very challenging. We have to say to ourselves, what would I have done? How would I have reacted under similar circumstances? We all want to think that we would have done what Mr. Beamer and others did. We can only hope that is the case, but we can also only hope that we will not have to face that challenge.

But if we do, if something like that ever comes up again, the fact is that any American who has read the story, becomes acquainted with the actions of the people on Flight 93, we can sincerely believe that the possibility for us to do the right thing under those circumstances, to do what they did, is greater because we know what they did, and because of what it does for us internally, because of the way it changes us, because of the courage, perhaps, that they have given us.

Mr. Speaker, we also are able to put faces together with names now of people who were on the plane. I take this opportunity also to think about and to speak for just a moment about Captain Jason Dahl. Mr. Dahl chose to be on the plane that day. He scheduled himself for Flight 93. From everything we have learned about Mr. Dahl, it is certainly understandable and it is quite probable that it was his decision even to take the plane into the ground rather than into any other edifice.

Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. HOLT) for introducing this legislation and for working so hard to ensure its passage. I encourage all Members to support this resolution. Mr. Speaker, to quote Todd Beamer, "Let's roll."

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3248 and wish to fully express my gratitude to the crew of United Flight 93, and

especially its captain, Jason M. Dahl. It was with immense sadness that I learned that the Dahl family and indeed all of Colorado had been robbed on September 11th of a good man and a good father. Mr. Dahl's family, to paraphrase President Lincoln, must feel enormous pride for having laid such a costly sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

According to a friend, Dahl learned to fly before he learned to drive. A neighbor remembered Dahl's football and baseball games in the street with neighborhood children and his commitment to his family and his community. Having read the statements of those who eulogized him, I cannot help but conclude that the gentleman flying that plane was one of America's best—a great father and husband alike. Since September 11th, America has rediscovered the importance of family, and turned to family members for comfort and understanding. It is no small tragedy that the Dahl family does not have this luxury, having been left incomplete on September 11th.

Most of us saw evil on that day watching the pictures of the two planes collide with the World Trade Towers in New York City. Jason Dahl almost surely saw evil in a different form. He must have seen it in the faces of the hijackers and known that it was in their hearts.

The loss of Mr. Dahl and all of the passengers aboard Flight 93 will not be forgotten—certainly not by this body. This morning, we passed a resolution calling for a plaque to be placed on the grounds of the Capitol memorializing their deaths. I would suggest that their memory will go much farther. The fact that this great building and its dome—two irreplaceable symbols of American democracy—still stand today will always be a living memorial to their sacrifice.

My prayers, Mr. Speaker, are with all of the innocent civilians who died aboard that plane, and especially Jason Dahl and his family.

Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3248.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 280) expressing solidarity with Israel in the fight against terrorism.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 280

Whereas 26 innocent people in Israel were murdered in cold blood and at least 175 wounded by Palestinian terrorists, all within 14 hours, during the weekend of December 1–2, 2001;

Whereas this is the equivalent, on a proportional basis, of 1,200 American deaths and 8,000 wounded;

Whereas United States Middle East envoy Anthony Zinni has labeled the terrorism of December 1-2, 2001, "the deepest evil one can imagine";

Whereas this bloody weekend is part of an ongoing terror campaign often targeted at youth and families and perpetrated by the Islamic fundamentalist groups Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad and other Palestinian terrorist groups;

Whereas President Bush declared at a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001, that "Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime"; and

Whereas President Bush declared on December 2, 2001, that "Chairman Arafat must do everything in his power to find those who murdered innocent Israelis and bring them to justice": Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That Congress—

(1) condemns the vicious terrorist attacks resulting in the death of 26 and the wounding of at least 175 innocent people in Israel within 14 hours during December 1-2, 2001, and extends its deepest sympathies to the Israeli nation and to the families of the victims;

(2) expresses outrage at the ongoing Palestinian terrorist campaign and insists that the Palestinian Authority take all steps necessary to end it;

(3) demands, specifically, that the Palestinian Authority take action immediately to—

(A) destroy the infrastructure of Palestinian terrorist groups;

(B) pursue and arrest terrorists whose incarceration has been called for by Israel; and

(C) either—

(i) prosecute such terrorists, provide convicted terrorists with the stiffest possible punishment, and ensure that those convicted remain in custody for the full duration of their sentences; or

(ii) render all arrested terrorists to the Government of Israel for prosecution;

(4) urges the President to take any and all necessary steps to ensure that the Palestinian Authority takes the actions described in paragraph (3), including, if necessary, suspending all relations with Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Authority;

(5) further urges the President to insist that all countries harboring, materially supporting, or acquiescing in the private support of Palestinian terrorist groups end all such support, dismantle the infrastructure of such groups, and bring all terrorists within their borders to justice;

(6) commends the President for his strong leadership against international terrorism, his forthright response to this most recent outrage, and his swift action to freeze additional sources of terrorist funds; and

(7) expresses the solidarity of the United States with Israel in our common struggle against the scourge of terrorism.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H. Con. Res. 280.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman from California (Mr. LAN-

TOS) in opposition to the motion to suspend the rules?

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. As a Member opposed to the motion, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) may control the 20 minutes reserved for opposition.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to divide my time with the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that each side be given an additional 10 minutes in view of the fact that we have a number of speakers.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, parliamentary inquiry. Each side, I would like to know what that means?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Michigan object?

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I do not. I simply reserve the right. That means 10 minutes more for those supporting the motion and 10 minutes more for the opposition?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would state that it would make the motion debatable for an hour evenly divided.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I do not object to that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) will control 15 minutes, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) will control 15 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H. Con. Res. 280, the resolution under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House leadership would have met with Israeli Prime Minister Sharon in the United States Capitol to discuss the status of the peace process. Instead, he had to return home to Israel, and we are here on the floor of the House joining with the people of Israel in their grief over the losses from the horrific terrorist attack of the past weekend.

As Israel buries its dead, comforts its bereaved and begins to heal its wounded, we send through this resolution a signal of sincere condolence and solidarity with the people and the government of the State of Israel.

The American people also join in President Bush's forthright expression of support for Israel's right of self-defense. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the President took additional actions to cut off funding for terrorists, funds which originated here in the United States. Hamas is now understood to be a terrorist organization of global reach, even if that reach is mainly from Iran, Syria, or Lebanon into Israel.

This resolution calls on Palestinian Authority Chairman Arafat to do what the President's spokesman said he could have done in the past, to really crack down on those who would deliberately murder women, children and men as they go about their business on the streets.

We ask the President to act sharply against the Palestinian Authority if it does not heed our request. This is not an action we should rush to take, because the Palestinian people have chosen Chairman Arafat as their leader, and it is important that we maintain a relationship with him if at all possible. But as we do not provide aid to the Palestinian Authority itself, we cannot cut off assistance as a way of showing displeasure. A customary way of showing extreme displeasure with a foreign authority is to cut off our diplomatic relationship and compel some or all of their envoys to return home.

It seems clear that the actions or inaction of the Palestinian Authority to date merit the President's taking all appropriate actions, which could include the cutting off of our quasi-diplomatic relationship should we not see some serious action on their part.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Chairman Arafat has a historic role to play. He needs to lead his people by stopping the violence and beginning the negotiating process. He needs to do this not because we asked him to, not because of Israel's interest, but the interests of his own people. He needs to clearly convey to his people that the way of violence is not the way forward.

I sincerely hope he chooses the path of peace, takes risks for peace, and finds a way out of his present dilemma. The United States and its friends can and should do all it can to help him, but the choice ultimately is one that he and his colleagues must make and take responsibility for.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 7 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in regretful opposition to the resolution. It is clear we have an opportunity to pass a resolution which will contribute in a significant way to the peace process. It is

very clear that we have a duty to oppose terrorism, which I have always done and which I continue to do. It is also equally clear that the United States has a long-standing commitment to the freedom and independence to the State of Israel, and I strongly support that undertaking.

But I would note that here the resolution contributes very little to the accomplishment of those purposes. What this resolution does is to essentially set up a situation where the United States appears and in fact does and will be viewed by people in the area as having taken sides. The interests of the United States here are to bring to a halt terrorism and to create a lasting viable negotiated peace. That is best done by attacking the root causes of terrorism, not the least of which are the thousands or hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and others feel themselves to be unfairly, badly, and improperly treated. Their homes are destroyed. Their orchards are destroyed. Their lands are settled in defiance of their wishes their people are driven to poverty and killed. International agreements which they have made in their names are not being honored.

The duty of the United States here is a very simple one, and that is to work for peace in the Middle East. Our single most important concern in that area is peace: peace for Israel, security for Israel, peace and security for the Palestinians, an end to the fighting, a termination of terrorism. How is that done? Is it done by shooting up Arafat's helicopters? Is it done by terror bombings of people who are committing suicide to kill Israelis? No. Only one way leads to this course, the strongest possible leadership by the United States functioning as an impartial honest broker between people who find little reason not to hate each other.

Mr. Speaker, this will be done by a long process of negotiation in which the parties must come together to negotiate their differences under the strong leadership and guidance of the United States. This resolution accomplishes nothing in that end. It does nothing to move forward the peace process which came so close under the leadership of President Clinton during the last days of his administration. It does nothing to strengthen our friends in the area, the Governments of Egypt and Jordan. And it does nothing to make it possible for Mr. Arafat to provide the necessary leadership towards meaningful discussions. Rather it, and other actions leave Arafat weaker and less capable of effective participation in the peace process.

The question Members have to ask is: How is it that Arafat is to be better disposed to move forward towards peace when his people are angry and when his helicopters are bombed and when his headquarters is threatened? The answer is, not at all. But, it goes

beyond this. How is the peace process, or how are our concerns about peace in the area moved forward by weakening Arafat and by making him appear to be incapable of leading the Palestinian people? Or making the Palestinian people less willing to follow his leadership in the peace process?

Mr. Speaker, I hold no brief here for any side, none for Mr. Arafat, none for the Israelis or anybody else. I think the United States has to look to one thing. Let us look to our principal interest. Our principal interest is peace in the area. How is that to be achieved? Only in one way and no other. There is only one country in the world that has the prestige and the ability to do that and the military capability to bring that about. When it gets down to the point, we, and we alone, acting as leader of other Nations also dedicated to peace have the capacity to do what has to be done, to bring about real meaningful and final negotiations to settle the problems.

The issue here is how we bring the parties forward to begin a long and difficult a process. We must use the most intense pressure of the United States to abate and to terminate the terrible events which we are seeing in Israel, in Palestine, in the occupied territories in the Middle East. Negotiations between the parties are the only way.

I think Members can anticipate that the terrible events which occurred the other day in Israel with scores of people injured and killed are going to be replicated again and again. Angry, frustrated, bitter people are going to use that method because that is the only method that is available to the weak.

□ 1315

Again how are we going to bring the terrible events in the Middle East to a halt? By seeing to it that the problems that exist between the Israelis and the Palestinians and the others in the area are abated by negotiations between them. Is this going to be easy? Of course not. But is there an alternative way? The answer is there is no other way that that could be accomplished.

Certainly the resolution which is before us offered, by good friends of mine, for whom I have great respect, with, I am sure, the best of intentions, does not carry out the mechanisms for bringing peace and it does not offer us the prospects of seeing progress going forward. Nor does it offer this Nation the opportunity to know that we have done something which will abate the root causes of terrorism in that world which are causing deaths in the United States as well as Israel, Palestine, and other places. We have committed ourselves to a massive effort in Afghanistan, which has caused us to spend billions of dollars and to put at risk our military personnel.

I support that effort, and each year I support massive funding to help

Israelis to maintain their statehood and to deal with their security problems.

This resolution is counterproductive. It does not move us forward towards world peace. It does not move us forward towards a resolution of the controversy of the differences which are major causes of terrorism, heartache, death and suffering, for Israelis and for Arabs alike, and on September 11, Americans.

This leaves us with a large new group of people who are going to say the United States sides with Israel, and that this country is not concerned about peace in the Middle East, and not concerned about addressing the enormous problems which divide the people there. We thus ignore some of the terms most important to our national security. We are talking here about an area which has the potential for the next world war occurring. Terrorism can bring it about at any time. It could happen; and if it does, the results to Israel will be calamitous. Five million Israelis, or a few more, in a small country surrounded by millions of Arabs, is facing terrible risk and danger in the event that there is significant trouble.

I am not sure that the United States can address any of the problems that we have with peace in the area easily, or that we can address the problems of assuring our own security. But we must. We have already learned the bitter anger that causes suicide bombers will kill large numbers of Israelis and Americans through terrorist tactics. I would urge my colleagues to choose a better mechanism for assuring peace in the area and the security of the United States, a negotiated settlement by the parties, driven by our leadership, and effort, with the support of the other peace loving Nations.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), for whom I have enormous admiration, that he has a much more spacious view of the purpose of this resolution. We do not pretend to have an answer to the Middle East conflict; and I pray that if the gentleman does, he will come forward with it so that peace might be moved closer in that troubled part of the world.

What this resolution does is a very narrow, simple thing, and that is it shows solidarity with the Israeli people who were victimized on December 1 with an atrocity, namely the killing of 26 people, randomly, in a shopping mall, and the wounding of at least 175 of them, in the wake of what happened to our country on the 11th of September in the worst act of terrorism in recorded history in the memory of man.

So Israel and the United States are both victims of a terrible act of terrorism; and in that co-victimhood we attempt to show solidarity. That is not a mindless thing; it is not an empty gesture. It focuses on this new form of war, which is beyond contempt. I think that is very useful and necessary.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I first want to pay tribute to the leadership of the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), in bringing this resolution before us.

I should also mention, Mr. Speaker, that as we speak, a parallel resolution is being considered in the other body, introduced by the chairman and the ranking member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Hyde-Lantos resolution expressing solidarity with the State of Israel and the Israeli people in their fight against terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, this past weekend, Israel experienced the most deadly eruption of Palestinian terrorist assassinations that country has seen in years. Some 26 utterly innocent civilians were killed, most of them young people, and 175 wounded, within a 14-hour period as a result of ruthless suicide bombs in both Jerusalem and Haifa. Once again, Palestinian terrorists targeted people on a bus and people in a shopping mall.

We as Americans, ourselves recently victimized, fully share the Israelis' sense of anger, outrage, and violation. The horror of this past weekend was, as President Bush's Middle East envoy, General Zinni, stated, "the deepest evil one can imagine."

Israel's casualty figures from the 14 hours of carnage are the equivalent on a proportional basis of 1,200 American dead and 8,000 American wounded. The horrors of this past weekend only underscore a relentless campaign of murder carried out by Hamas, Islamic jihad and elements of Arafat's own Fattah movement. In fact, Mr. Speaker, since that fateful date, September 11, the equivalent of 2,700 Israelis have fallen victim to Palestinian terrorism.

Each human life is a treasure far beyond what any statistic can express. Both the Jewish and Islamic traditions poignantly declare that the saving of one human life is the equivalent of saving the world and the murder of one human life is the equivalent of destroying the world. I cite the proportional figures only as a means to illustrate, Mr. Speaker, the impact these killings have on a small nation of just 6 million people.

This Congress and the American people are angry, frustrated, and fed up

with Arafat's cynical support of murderous criminals and his failure to act to prevent the killing of both Israelis and Palestinians. But Arafat's failure does not only lead to death; it leads to the danger that a bloodbath will ensue in the entire region.

We know, Mr. Speaker, that Arafat is capable of stopping terror. We have seen him do so when under sufficient international pressure. Until he does end the terror, and end it for good, we must conclude that he supports it.

It is no longer good enough, indeed, it never was, Mr. Speaker, for Arafat to run a revolving prison door, arresting a few low-level terrorists for a few days until the world diverts its glance and moves on to other issues.

The Hyde-Lantos resolution provides that the Palestinian Authority should arrest, prosecute, and punish the perpetrators of this monstrous act or turn over these terrorists to the Government of Israel for prosecution. Our resolution urges the President of the United States to take any and all steps necessary to ensure that the Palestinian Authority complies with all of our demands. If it does not, we call on our President to terminate relations with Arafat and the Palestinian Authority.

Mr. Speaker, in his historic speech to our joint session on September 20, President Bush said that nations will be judged as either being against terrorists or being for them. In this hour of their grieving, Israelis should know that the American Congress and the American people stand resolutely with them in our joint struggle against international terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. ISSA).

Mr. ISSA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this piece of legislation. Not because it is completely flawed, it has great value in some of the things it says, but it has flaws.

Before I go on to those flaws, I would like to point out that the previous speaker misstated this resolution. I would ask the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) to use some of his remaining time to restate correctly this resolution.

This resolution in its original form very outlandishly called on the Palestinian Authority, as though they were the perpetrators of this crime. It has been changed, because they are not.

Hamas committed these two terrible attacks, for which Hamas should be hunted down and punished, as the President is seeking to do. But in fact, the Palestinian Authority is also a victim of these attacks. They have had loss of life as a result of this. And going to the larger picture of the Middle East, Israel continues to find ways to punish and diminish the Palestinian

Authority's ability to enforce the very laws that they ask to be enforced by bombing their police headquarters in retaliation for what was taken credit by Hamas to be their act.

Hamas is, in fact, an organization formed in opposition to the Palestinian Authority's very own party. I would ask that these inaccuracies be corrected, because in fact Hamas would like to see the PLO out of power. Hamas is an extreme organization with a very different bent than the Palestinian Authority's general way of doing business.

More importantly, I would call on everyone to look at item four, where it urges the President to take any and all necessary steps to ensure the Palestinians take the actions described. That was added, and it was added for a good and valid reason that I hope we will all remember should this otherwise in some ways misguided resolution pass.

The President could restore the \$900 million that the Israeli Government has withheld from the Palestinian Authority. Those dollars were designed to allow them to enforce their laws, and yet that has been unlawfully and in violation of the agreement that they have made withheld.

The President could see that the Palestinian Authority, who today only has two answers to a riot, yell at them or shoot them, because they are prohibited and withheld the kind of riot control equipment that would allow them to enforce these very sanctions that we want to see that they do to root out Hamas. They have no riot control equipment; they have no billy clubs; they have no tear gas.

So I ask that we look at this somewhat erroneous resolution for what it might do for the administration, if the administration takes the initiative and does some positive things to undo the damage that has been done by Israel in breaking down the very authority that they now call on the United States to insist that they take these steps.

We were just in the West Bank on a CODEL. We saw how little ability the PLO now has, what the effects of 14 months of not receiving the funding they need to do their job are.

□ 1330

This is not a perfect document. It has been improved. I would call, once again, on the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) to make those corrections so that we fairly and accurately state what item 4 and the rest of this document says, which is a call on Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and other organizations, terrorist organizations, of which the Palestinian Authority is not one.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, out of extraordinary respect and affection for

the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), my good friend, I yield him an additional 1 minute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge my colleagues to fully support H. Con. Res. 280 so that the Congress can demonstrate that it stands in strong support of Israel as it confronts terrorism threats similar to the ones we have been confronted by our own Nation. I thank our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), our ranking minority member, for bringing this measure to the floor in a timely manner.

We should be reminded that Israel has lived with these kinds of threats and terrorism for most of its existence, not just since September 11, and which have escalated just in the past few days, killing so many innocent civilians. Palestinian leader Chairman Arafat needs to know that he will receive no more second opportunities and no more benefits of doubt. This resolution does just that by demanding that Chairman Arafat root out the infrastructure of Palestinian terrorist organizations operating within its territory that is controlled by the Palestinian Authority.

This resolution demands that Chairman Arafat either prosecute Palestinian terrorists and ensure that they remain in custody, or turn over the terrorists to Israel for prosecution. These are steps that Arafat, despite repeated demands from Israel and, to some extent, from our own Nation, that he has to undertake at this time but has refused to. Our resolution urges the President to suspend relations with Mr. Arafat, the Palestinian Authority, until they, once and for all, root out the terrorist infrastructure. We must not do business as usual with Mr. Arafat while he continues to allow Palestinian suicide bombers to roam freely, enabling them to carry out more destruction against civilians.

Mr. Arafat has refused to crack down on these terrorist groups, believing that he can keep peace with the Palestinian Authority if he stands down from confronting the militants.

However, these groups actually have been undermining Mr. Arafat's leadership by provoking Israel and preventing negotiations from yielding peace and prosperity for the Palestinian people.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution puts other governments on notice that we in the Congress are watching their behavior toward Palestinian terrorism as well. Governments such as Syria and Iran must not be permitted to fund, to arm and to harbor Palestinian terrorist groups with immunity and then hide behind tepid words of support for the

United States' efforts against the Taliban and bin Laden. Syria has allowed Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad to maintain their headquarters in Damascus and to operate training camps in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon. Iran provides about 10 percent of Hamas' total budget and virtually all of the funds used by Palestinian Islamic Jihad, according to a wide variety of reports and analyses. It also funds weapons to Hizbollah in Lebanon, an organization that helps train Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

In conclusion, let me say, Mr. Speaker, that the passage of this resolution will send to Chairman Arafat a clear, strong message that our patience with him is at an end. As some Israeli leaders have noted, Mr. Arafat should be told to either surrender the terrorists, or surrender his power. The same policies that we are pursuing against Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan should be applied to Mr. Arafat. I urge my colleagues to fully support this measure.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, before yielding to the gentlewoman from Nevada, I want to make some observations on the speaker prior to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

I do not take back one single word of my statement. Units of Arafat Palestinian Authority have participated repeatedly in the most heinous terrorist acts and claimed credit for it. Arafat paid tribute to mass murderers and assassins on a repeated basis. He is part and parcel of the terrorist cabal.

Let me also say, with respect to sanctimonious statements about peace, there was an opportunity for peace when, under President Clinton's leadership and at his urging, former Prime Minister Barak made sweeping and phenomenal concessions to the Palestinian Authority, and instead of accepting those or coming up with a counteroffer, he started a 14-month mass murder, sweeping the region, with hundreds of Israelis and Palestinians being killed, the Palestinian economy in shambles, tourism in the whole region from Egypt to Lebanon dead. All of it because of terrorism and violence.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Nevada (Ms. BERKLEY), my distinguished colleague and good friend.

Ms. BERKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Hyde-Lantos resolution.

I would like to personally thank both the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for bringing this measure to the floor and for their excellent leadership on our committee.

Mr. Speaker, after the vile terrorist attacks perpetrated by Palestinian suicide bombers this weekend in Israel, many are claiming that this is the moment of truth for Yasar Arafat. The

fact is, Chairman Arafat has had too many moments of truth, and he has failed them all.

The patience of the United States has been abused time and again by the Palestinian leadership. It is far past time for Chairman Arafat to start producing results. He started this Intifada over a year ago after rejecting Prime Minister Barak's generous calls for peace and, since then, has chosen to ignore America's calls for negotiation in favor of blowing up discos and pedestrian malls. Mr. Arafat and the entire Palestinian leadership must listen very clearly to the message that we are sending: You have gained nothing by killing innocent teenagers, except the wrath of America, Israel and the civilized international community.

Palestinian apologists have tried to link these terrorist attacks to Israeli policies. Let me say loud and clear that those who make this argument are the same, in many instances, who claim that the attacks on America on September 11 were motivated by America's foreign policy. Only the most despicable or deliberately blind human beings can rationalize the murder of innocent teenagers for a supposed political cause.

Mr. Speaker, our patience with the Palestinian leadership has run its course. American policy is clear that our enemies are terrorists everywhere and all governments that support them. This resolution says once and for all to Chairman Arafat, what side are you on? Do you support terror, or will you immediately and permanently dismantle the terrorist organizations that act freely within your territory?

Hamas and other terrorist organizations operate with a free hand because Arafat allows them to. If Arafat cannot control these terrorists, then why are we propping him up and pretending that he has the ability to negotiate with Israel for peace? If Chairman Arafat fails to act, then it is time to regard the Palestinian Authority as supporters of terror and deal with them as such. The choice, as it has always been, is Chairman Arafat's to make.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE).

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, Yasar Arafat says that he cannot control the terrorists. It seems that we have a relatively easy decision to make. Why do we not take him at his word? If he cannot control the terrorists, then he should not pretend that he can bring peace, and we ought to stop negotiating with him. We need to look elsewhere among the Palestinians for negotiating partners. If Yasar Arafat is responsible, then terrorists under his control over the

weekend killed 26 Israelis. If he is responsible, he needs to be held accountable for his actions. We need to remember that Arafat has never outlawed Hamas, he has never confiscated its weapons, he has never shut down its training camps, and he has never even publicly condemned it by name.

In 1997, then Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said that Arafat had a revolving door justice system when it came to handling terrorists. Things have not changed.

Again, the U.S. simply needs to determine, is Arafat in control, or is he not? I would suggest that, in either case, we ought to stop negotiating with him.

Further, there are better uses for taxpayer dollars than to prop up terrorists and their regimes. If we find that he is not in control, stop negotiating with him. If he is in control, hold him accountable. We ought to begin the post-Arafat era.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution and not, obviously, because it condemns violence. We all condemn the violence. But there is more to this resolution than just condemning the violence. I have a problem with most resolutions like this because it endorses a foreign policy that I do not endorse, and it does that by putting on unnecessary demands. So the demands part of this resolution is the part that I object to, not the condemnation of violence.

By doing this, we serve to antagonize. We hear today talk about having solidarity with Israel. Others get up and try in their best way to defend the Palestinians and the Arabs. So it is sort of a contest: Should be we pro-Israel or pro-Arab, or anti-Israel or anti-Arab, and how are we perceived in doing this? It is pretty important.

But I think there is a third option to this that we so often forget about. Why can we not be pro-American? What is in the best interests of the United States? We have not even heard that yet.

I believe that it is in the best interests of the United States not to get into a fight, a fight that we do not have the wisdom to figure out.

Now, I would like to have neutrality. That has been the tradition for America, at least a century ago, to be friends with everybody, trade with everybody, and to be neutral, unless somebody declares war against us, but not to demand that we pick sides in every fight in the world. Yet, this is what we are doing. I think our perceptions are in error, because it is not intended that we make the problem worse. Obviously, the authors of the resolution, do not want to make the

problem worse. But we have to realize, perceptions are pretty important. So the perceptions are, yes, we have solidarity with Israel. What is the opposite of solidarity? It is hostility. So if we have solidarity with Israel, then we have hostility to the Palestinians.

I have a proposal and a suggestion which I think fits the American tradition. We should treat both sides equally, but in a different way. Today we treat both sides equally by giving both sides money and telling them what to do. Not \$1 million here or there, not \$100 million here or there, but tens of billions of dollars over decades to both sides; always trying to buy peace.

My argument is that it generally does not work, that there are unintended consequences. These things backfire. They come back to haunt us. We should start off by defunding, defunding both sides. I am just not for giving all of this money, because every time there are civilians killed on the Israeli side or civilians killed on the Palestinian side, we can be assured that either our money was used directly or indirectly to do that killing.

□ 1345

So we are, in a way, an accomplice on all of this killing because we fund both sides. So I would argue we should consider neutrality, to consider friendship with both sides, and not to pretend that we are all so wise that we know exactly with whom to have solidarity. I think that is basically our problem. We have a policy that is doomed to fail in the Middle East; and it fails slowly and persistently, always drawing us in, always demanding more money.

With the Arabs, we cannot tell the Arabs to get lost. The Arabs are important. They have a lot of oil under their control. We cannot flaunt the Arabs and say, get lost. We must protect our oil. It is called "our oil." At the same time, there is a strong constituency for never offending Israel.

I think that we cannot buy peace under these circumstances. I think we can contribute by being more neutral. I think we can contribute a whole lot by being friends with both sides. But I believe the money is wasted, it is spent unwisely, and it actually does not serve the interests of the American people.

First, it costs us money. That means that we have to take this money from the American taxpayer.

Second, it does not achieve the peace that we all hope to have.

Therefore, the policy of foreign non-interventionism, where the United States is not the bully and does not come in and tell everybody exactly what to do, by putting demands on them, I think if we did not do that, yes, we could still have some moral authority to condemn violence.

But should we not condemn violence equally? Could it be true that only in-

nocent civilians have died on one side and not the other? I do not believe that to be the care. I believe that it happens on both sides, and on both sides they use our money to do it.

I urge a no vote on this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, like most Americans, I was appalled by the suicide bombings in Israel over the weekend. I am appalled by all acts of violence targeting noncombatants. The ongoing cycle of violence in the Middle East is robbing generations of their hopes and dreams and freedom. The cycle of violence ensures economic ruin and encourages political extremism; it punishes, most of all, the innocent.

The people of the Middle East must find a way to break this cycle of violence. As Secretary of State Colin Powell told the House International Relations Committee in October, "You have got to find a way not to find justifications for what we are doing, but to get out of what we are doing to break the cycle."

Mr. Speaker, I agree with our Secretary of State. The Secretary also said that we need to move beyond seeing the two sides there as "just enemies." I agree with that too. But I don't think this piece of legislation moves us any closer to that important goal. While it rightly condemns the senseless acts of violence against the innocent, it unfortunately goes much further than that—and that is where I regrettably must part company with this bill. Rather than stopping at condemning terrorism, this bill makes specific demands in Israel and the Palestinian areas regarding internal policy and specifically the apprehension and treatment of suspected terrorists. I don't think that is our job here in Congress.

Further, it recommends that the President suspend all relations with Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Authority if they do not abide by the demands of this piece of legislation. I don't think this is a very helpful approach to the problem. Ceasing relations with one side in the conflict is, in effect, picking sides in the conflict. I don't think that has been our policy, nor is it in our best interest, be it in the Middle East, Central Asia, or anywhere else. The people of the United States contribute a substantial amount of money to both Israel and to the Palestinian people. We have made it clear in our policy and with our financial assistance that we are not taking sides in the conflict, but rather seeking a lasting peace in the region. Even with the recent, terrible attack. I don't think this is the time for Congress to attempt to subvert our government's policy on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Finally, the bill makes an attempt to join together our own fight against those who have attacked the United States on September 11 and Israel's ongoing dispute with the Palestinians. I don't think that is necessary. We are currently engaged in a very difficult and costly effort to seek out and bring to justice those who have attacked us and those who supported them, "wherever they may be," as the president has said. Today's reports of the possible loss of at least two of our servicemen in Afghanistan drives that point home very poignantly. As far as I know, none of those who attacked us had ties to Palestine or were harbored there. Mr. Speaker, I think we can all condemn terrorism wherever it may be without committing the United States to joining endless ongoing conflicts across the globe.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me, and I thank him for his leadership.

I also want to commend the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) and, again, the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for the work they have done.

I rise in strong support of this resolution to express solidarity with Israel and the fight against terrorism. We have had leadership on the Committee on International Relations that has helped us to ensure our support for Israel, and I want to thank them all for their leadership.

The citizens of Israel know too well the threat of terrorism. This past weekend was another brutal example: 26 Israeli citizens were murdered and 175 were wounded by the terrorist group Hamas and the Palestinian jihad, all within 14 hours. This bloody weekend was part of an ongoing campaign aimed at youth and families, unacceptable acts of terrorism.

To bring an end to terrorism in Israel, Chairman Arafat has to live up to his agreements, including commitments made to stop this violence against civilians. That means fulfilling promises of prosecutions. His ability to maintain the rule of law would finally demonstrate a Palestinian interest in engaging in discussions of peace.

Without serious action to eliminate, even harness terrorism, Arafat cannot expect any opportunity for negotiations.

So the United States stands united with Israel in the effort to eliminate the terrorist attacks against our citizens. Our continued unification with other nations on this issue must not cease to be heard around the world. Our Arab allies, indeed, must understand our position and encourage Chairman Arafat to take the necessary steps against known terrorist organizations, and support him publicly when he does.

I encourage all my colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 280 to express our support and solidarity for the citizens of Israel.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN), the distinguished ranking member of the Middle East subcommittee of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am outraged by the statement of one of the previous speakers who has now left the floor who said, with his unique sense of justice, that we should treat everybody equally; that we should

treat the terrorists and victims the same; that we should treat Hamas the same way and look at them in the same way that we treat little girls going to a disco, or grandmothers taking their grandchildren out for pizza for lunch. That is not justice; that is ridiculous.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution. I would like to thank the chairman, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and the ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for their outstanding efforts in crafting this resolution and getting it to the floor in so timely a fashion.

I believe it is critically important at this moment, this moment of truth, for the House of Representatives to speak out against the Palestinian terrorism which has cost so many innocent Israelis their lives.

It is well past time for Congress to say enough, enough killing, enough terror, and finally, enough duplicity, excuses, and lies. Palestinian terrorism is not an accident; it is not an uncontrollable cycle. In fact, it is the result of a deliberate, deliberate refusal by the Palestinian Authority to crack down on terrorist groups like Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic jihad.

It is the result of the Palestinian Authority's revolving-door prison policy, and the Palestinian leadership's unconscionable refusal to arrest terrorists whose names and addresses are made familiar by endless Israeli requests for action, requests that have been confirmed by our own government.

Hamas is a terrorist group, and the PA harbors them. Our President says there is no difference, that the Palestinian Authority must be held accountable for these grotesque decisions which make any hope of peace an impossibility.

The Palestinian people have legitimate grievances and they have a right to express them; but they have no right, no right, no right to blow up and murder innocent men, women, and children.

Mr. Speaker, the United States cannot work during the day with Palestinian leaders on "the peace of the brave" while in the evening they turn a blind eye to terrorist bombings, shootings, and mayhem. As President Bush made so clear in his address to this Congress and to the American people, the time has come for every Nation and national group to choose: they are either with us or they are with the terrorists.

The Palestinian Authority has exactly that choice to make now. Either they destroy the infrastructure of Hamas, Islamic jihad, and other terrorist groups, or they will lose their relationships with the Congress, lose their relationship with the United States, and in the end, stand to lose much more than that.

Mr. Speaker, we must pass this excellent resolution. Again, I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for helping the House to find its voice on this very critical issue.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that each side be given an additional 5 minutes, since we have some additional speakers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I just want to hear again what my good friend said.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would tell the gentleman, I am asking for an additional 5 minutes for each side, since we have additional speakers.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) will each be recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I will be voting for House Concurrent Resolution 280. This bill reflects my abhorrence and total condemnation of terrorist attacks on innocent Israelis, noncombatants. That attack, carried out on December 1 and 2, mutilated and killed 26 noncombatants, and 175 were wounded. These were human beings: men, women, and children, young people, and seniors. This monstrous atrocity must be condemned by all who believe in morality, all who believe in God, all who seek a better world and seek peace.

We condemn this as we condemn all attacks which have targeted Israelis and noncombatants in the decades past. This unconditional condemnation of such attacks on Israel, on their noncombatants, is totally justified.

But that is not enough. If America is to be a peacemaker in the Middle East, if we are to take a principled stand that will then be taken seriously by both sides when we condemn terrorism, we must condemn with equal moral outrage the murderous assaults on Palestinian noncombatants.

There are piles of bodies in the Middle East today, piles of bodies of innocent people. The Economist Magazine recently noted that the number of Palestinian noncombatants who have been

killed in these last 6 weeks far outnumber the number of Israeli victims.

But there have been victims on both sides; and we need to equally, with equal fervor, condemn these attacks on innocent people. We should have zero tolerance, zero tolerance of this brutal terrorism that has kept the Middle East in such turmoil.

But let me note that does not mean, because we condemn this terrorism, that we close our eyes to the fact that Israeli soldiers are mowing down young boys who are doing nothing more than throwing rocks, a nonlethal weapon, and they use deadly force.

There are people in this body who are, with me, dedicated to human rights who would never permit a regime anywhere in the world to use such deadly force against people who are simply throwing rocks in order to call the public attention to their seeking justice for their cause. The killing of an Israeli soldier does not justify the shelling, indiscriminate shelling, of Palestinian villages, which has been part of their policy in the past, as well.

If we are to be taken seriously about condemning terrorism, if we are to be a peacemaker in the Middle East, and that is what we should be whenever there is an act of terrorism, we need to step forward; and we have not done it when the Palestinians are the victims.

Today I am going to vote for this resolution because I wholeheartedly condemn the killing that we are talking about here, with these poor Israeli people, 26 of them, and 175 wounded. These young people who are wounded probably have no legs, young people being disfigured all their lives. This is a horror story.

But it is an equal horror story when those things are done on Palestinians by the Israeli soldiers, and we need to be a peacemaker and not just give blanket approval to everything Israel does.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to tell my good friend, the gentleman from California, that there is an enormous difference between targeting innocent civilians and collateral damage.

Today, as we speak, American soldiers were killed, killed in Afghanistan by our own forces inadvertently. There is a difference of the whole world between deliberately killing innocent civilians and retaliating, doing one's utmost to avoid killing civilians and, tragically, mistakes occurring. I think this distinction must be made on this floor.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN).

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for allowing me this time.

Let me also thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for his

leadership in bringing forth this resolution and thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), as well.

Mr. Speaker, some of our colleagues are concerned about taking a side. We are taking a side; we are taking a side against terrorists. We cannot be neutral when it comes to terrorists. Our President has said it very clearly: they are either on our side in the fight against the terrorists, or they are on the side of the terrorists.

This resolution is very straightforward. It supports the resolve of the people of Israel, and it lends the support of our Nation in their war against terrorists.

□ 1400

That is exactly what the President and we asked of the American people after the attack on our country on September 11. We asked for the resolve of our people and their national support. There should not be a different standard here. We all should be opposed to the terrorist activities and support this war.

Mr. Arafat must make a choice. He either will join us in rooting out the terrorists in the Middle East or he will continue to be an ineffective leader. If he wants to be the leader of the Palestinian people that brings peace to the Middle East, then he must engage us, as this resolution calls upon him to do, to root out terrorists in the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, this is a resolution that I hope all of us would support. It shows that we will not compromise with terrorists. It shows that we are united as a Nation, we are united in our international coalition to root out terrorist activities, whether they occur in the United States, whether they occur in Israel, or wherever they occur. Innocent people should not be targets. We cannot compromise that issue.

This resolution speaks to that, and I urge my colleagues to support the resolution, to put this body on record against terrorism.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. ISSA).

Mr. ISSA. Mr. Speaker, I want to make it clear that this resolution started off as one that I could not support, and, in its final form, it is one that I will vote for, not because anything I said was less accurate. There are unsaid things. There are, in fact, challenges that the Israeli government has not met that I would hope they meet, but I would say that in the final analysis that we as a body must speak about the wrong actions that occurred, regardless of what is not in this document or any flaws that remain.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY).

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I stand up to say, enough is enough. I rise in

strong support of this resolution, and I am proud to be a cosponsor. I commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman, and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), our ranking member, for bringing this measure before us this afternoon.

I was both saddened and infuriated by the events that transpired in Jerusalem and Haifa this past weekend. Saddened because 26 people were murdered and 175 were injured in a cowardly terrorist attack. Infuriated because Yasser Arafat and his Palestinian Authority have done nothing to prevent these attacks since the peace process began.

Arresting low-level Hamas operatives to demonstrate that he is doing something is fooling absolutely no one. Arafat's declaration that he is cracking down on Palestinian terrorists is about as effective as the police inspector played by Claude Rains in Casablanca when he said, round up the usual suspects, while Humphrey Bogart got away.

The revolving door policy at Palestinian jails must end immediately. After years of negotiating with Arafat and the Palestinian Authority to no avail, it may be time to ask if Arafat is truly a partner interested in peace. As the old adage goes, actions speak louder than words. Arafat's actions suggest that we have been wasting our time in dealing with him.

Mr. Arafat, our patience has finally run out. You have no more bargaining chips left. President Bush issued a challenge to the world when he said, you are either with us or you are with the terrorists. Clearly, you have chosen.

Following the events of September 11, Americans have experienced what the Israelis have been dealing with since 1948. The Israeli government was there for us on 9/11, and we need to be with the Israelis today.

I urge all of my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR).

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Con. Res. 280; and I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman; the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member; and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for bringing this measure to the floor so quickly.

As was stated earlier, this past weekend we witnessed some of the bloodiest and most gruesome terrorist attacks on Israeli citizens by Palestinian terrorist organizations. These terrorist attacks are just another reminder that Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and his closest confidants continue to be the largest obstacle to peace in the Middle East by contributing to the reign of terror.

Each and every day Israelis and now Americans face disruptions to our normal civilized daily lives by the constant threat and now reality of suicide bombers and terrorist attacks. I commend President Bush for his actions yesterday in freezing the assets of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, which poses as a charitable organization but, in fact, funnels millions of dollars annually to Hamas.

In response to an earlier speaker who asked, when are we going to start acting in the U.S. interests, I pose and ask, are not we acting in the interests when we shut down organizations as that who are operating within our borders? Those organizations are using our laws to operate to raise money for terrorist activities which can just as easily take place in Israel and as we saw on 9/11 here in America.

We in America, under the leadership of President Bush, have set out to make Americans and freedom-loving people safer against the terrorists. As stated in the Bush doctrine, there is no distinction between the terrorists and those who harbor them. Just as al-Qaida receives support and sanctuary from the Taliban, Hamas, Palestinian, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah and others are provided a sanctuary and with land to operate and with support from Mr. Arafat and his confidants.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come for the United States to stop talking about waiting for Arafat to fulfill certain conditions. How many times will we demand he reign in the terror and stop the killing? How many U.S. taxpayer dollars must we spend and entrust to Arafat and his Palestinian Authority as they continue to harbor the terrorists?

Mr. Speaker, the United States and Israel share common values and freedom of choice, and I believe this resolution signals what should be the end of the road for American patience with Mr. Arafat.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER).

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution condemning the terrorist outrages committed by the Palestinian terrorist groups and expressing our solidarity with Israel.

Mr. Speaker, there can be no peace and no real negotiations as long as such terrorist attacks continue. Mr. Arafat denounces these terrorist attacks but operates a revolving door prison system, that encourages the terrorists to continue. He then lionizes the terrorist murderers and, in fact, gives death benefits and pensions to the families of the suicide bombers.

He is obviously not honest in his opposition to terrorism, and he permits it to continue and, indeed, promotes it.

Mr. Speaker, there can be no moral equivalency between the deliberate at-

tacks of the terrorists on Israeli civilians and the unfortunate deaths of civilians who are victims when Israel attempts to attack the terrorists to prevent further terrorist attacks.

Mr. Arafat must now be held to destroy the terrorist infrastructure now. If Arafat does not do this very quickly, then Israel in all likelihood will take upon itself the necessity of doing so. Israel will have to exercise its inherent right of self-defense, as the United States is now doing in Afghanistan, and that will greatly escalate the situation.

The key to the Oslo agreement for peace talks was the renunciation of violence by both sides as leverage in negotiations. Israel has renounced that violence. Arafat, obviously, has used it as a tool. After Prime Minister Barak made a breathtaking offer of concession to Israel last year, Arafat reacted not by agreeing, not by a counteroffer, but by starting a war which has escalated into a war against civilians.

I support this resolution. We must stop that war. Israel, if necessary, must exercise its right of self-defense to stop that war against civilians, and no one on earth can tell a sovereign nation not to fight to protect its citizens against the kind of terrorist murderers who murdered people in Jerusalem last week and in New York City on September 11.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KIRK).

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, there comes a time in the life of a democracy when their leaders must respond to terror by unleashing a terrible, swift sword. That is this time for our allies in Israel.

Under the previous prime minister, Yasar Arafat was offered a choice. At Camp David and again at Taba, he chose between an offer of 97 percent of the territories or the gun. He chose the gun.

Many Americans thought that Arafat could make a courageous decision like Nelson Mandela to surrender the gun and govern a state, or Arafat could follow the path of Fidel Castro and preside over increasing isolation and destruction. Arafat chose unwisely and conducted a wave of violence against teenagers and commuters.

His apologists say that Arafat has no power. They are wrong. He has no judgment. President Bush put the question clearly after September 11, you are either with the terrorists or you are with the West. You cannot condemn the Taliban and hug Hezbollah. Egypt and Jordan chose wisely: Peace with Israel. Arafat chose war.

He is now harvesting the wrath of a democracy and her American ally. Americans are best when we stand with our democratic allies, and now is the time to stand with Israel. Together, we will show that the way of the suicide bomber leads nowhere, and only nego-

tiations with the democratically elected leaders of Israel can lead to peace.

I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and especially the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for his leadership on this.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OTTER). The Chair would announce that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) has 3 minutes left. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) has 17 minutes left. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 3 minutes left.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to our distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. WEINER).

Mr. WEINER. Mr. Speaker, Lewis Carroll wrote about a language where down is up, black is white as jabberwocky, and some of the opponents of this resolution are engaged in it today.

The very distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) talks about the despair of the Palestinian people as if it is a rationale for dynamite laced with nails in the middle of a busy square in front of a pizzeria and an ice cream parlor, as if the slaughter of innocents is somehow a legitimate form of political speech.

My friend from California says, oh, we have got the wrong villain. It is not the Palestinian Authority, it is not Arafat, it is Hamas, and if only you give him the chance and the tools to stamp out Hamas, he can do it.

Well, he asked for control of the territories. The Palestinian Authority has it; 95 percent of those that live in the territories are under Palestinian control. He says, I need a police force to control violence. The Israelis gave him a police force, gave him guns, gave those fighting against them guns. He said, that is not enough. He said, I need a list of the terrorists. Well, the Israelis gave him that, too. They refuse to arrest them, and then they go and slaughter innocents. We cannot have it both ways.

Some say Arafat is powerless. Well, if he is powerless, let us adopt President Bush's admonition and toss him upon the dust heap of history; and if he is powerful enough to be a partner for peace, let me ask why is it in his entire history he has not given a single speech in Arabic telling his people that it is time to live in peace with Israel. Not a single one.

Ask him why it is that he has never stopped educating the young people in the Palestinian territories to hate from their very youngest age. He even stopped a program called Seeds of Peace which let young people from Israel and from the territories get together and share their common interests.

On September 11, we in the United States learned what it was like to live in Israel. We would not think of saying

to Osama bin Laden, well, let us negotiate, let us take it easy, let us give him a chance. We would never think about giving them Texas and Louisiana if only they would go away. We would never think of that then. We should not even consider that today.

We should pass this very strong resolution, and we should do even more in the future.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would like to remind the House that Members should address their comments to the Chair and not to other Members in the second person.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all persons who control time be given equally an additional 10 minutes. I know some of my colleagues do not need it, but in the spirit of collegiality, we do not want to stifle discussion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, I object. The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

□ 1415

Mr. LANTOS. In view of the objection heard, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that each side be given an additional 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OTTER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

Mr. ENGEL. I thank my colleague from California, the ranking member, for yielding me this time; and I also thank the chairman.

I rise in very, very strong support of this resolution. I want to read a quote from President Bush right from his resolution, when he stated on September 20: "Every Nation and every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any Nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime."

Mr. Speaker, we are in Afghanistan going after the Taliban not because we think the Taliban plotted and planned the terrorist attacks on September 11, but because the Taliban harbored Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda, which planned these attacks. Well, if it is okay for the United States to knock off the Taliban because they did nothing to prevent terrorist acts and indeed harbored the terrorists, then Israel has the same right to go after Yasar Arafat because he has done nothing to stop terrorism.

No one is saying he sits there and plans and plots the terrorist attacks,

but he certainly does nothing to stop them. Either he cannot stop them, at which point what is the point in talking to him; or he refuses to stop them, which at the same point there is no sense talking to him. He has had time.

My colleagues have mentioned where there were generous peace proposals, far beyond what any Israeli prime minister could have offered, and Yasar Arafat rejected the peace proposals of then Prime Minister Barak, and, worse than rejecting it, he walked away from the process. He did not make any counterproposal. He did not try to squeeze a few more concessions out of the Israelis. He walked away and he unleashed the intifada. As far as I am concerned, I am at my wits' end with Yasar Arafat, because he has not shown that he is a partner for peace. In order to be a partner for peace, it takes two to tango. As far as I am concerned right now, Israel is without a partner to negotiate peace.

Now, Hamas, Islamic jihad, all the terrorists have had revolving-door justice from Mr. Arafat. He arrests them and lets them out the back door. The game is played time and time and time again. He will come here to Washington, and he will issue statements in English condemning terrorism. He does not issue those statements in Arabic. He does not call for peace with Israel in Arabic. He does not do anything to help the plight of his own people. In fact, Islamic jihad and Hamas represent at least as much a threat to him and his authority and his people as they do to Israel.

We have to condemn terrorism with every force we have. And for the question before that was asked, what is in the best interest of the United States, the best interest of the United States is to go after terrorists wherever they rear their ugly head, in the United States, in Israel, or anywhere around the world. I wholeheartedly support this resolution and urge its passage.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me this time, and I commend him and the ranking member for their outstanding leadership on this very timely resolution.

Twenty-six innocent people in Israel murdered in cold blood, 175 wounded by Palestinian terrorists all within 14 hours. On a proportional basis, as our resolution provides, this would represent 1,200 American deaths and 8,000 wounded. Today, I rise as a proud and humbled cosponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 280 expressing solidarity with Israel in its fight against terrorism.

I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that we should do no less than we will do in this Chamber today: condemn the vicious terrorist attacks that have resulted in the deprivation of sons and

daughters, husbands and wives, and grandparents of the families in Israel; expressing outrage today, as we do, of the ongoing Palestinian terrorist campaign, which is not, as some in the media say, a cycle of violence; but it is violence against the people of Israel and the self-defense of Israel. And we also demand today that the Palestinian Authority destroy the infrastructure of Palestinian terrorist groups, pursue and arrest terrorists, and bring them to justice; and our efforts both commend the President and urge all necessary steps be taken to ensure such actions by the Palestinian Authority are timely indeed.

I rise today, Mr. Speaker, as a Christian American from the heartland of this country, the great State of Indiana. And I am here to say that I represent hundreds of thousands of Americans who still believe that He will bless those who bless Israel. It is from this tender regard of the American people that this nation sprang back into existence in its historic homeland in 1948, and the enemies of Israel should know that that regard remains to this day.

I pray for the peace of Jerusalem. May there be peace within her walls and security within her citadels. May the grieving families hear from this Congress today the voice of sympathy and the voice of solidarity, and I urge all of my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to my good friend and distinguished colleague from Maryland (Mr. WYNN).

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time and also for his outstanding leadership on this issue. I rise in strong support of Israel's fight against terrorism.

The blood of combatants is unfortunate but understandable. The blood of innocents is intolerable and unacceptable. Today, we deal with that blood; and we first have to say that we must not have and shed the blood of innocents on either side. Now, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) correctly made the distinction that sometimes in the course of collateral damage innocent Palestinian blood has been shed, and we must say in all sincerity that that is truly a tragedy. But today we address a different situation, the targeted and deliberate shedding of innocent blood of Israelis, Israeli youth in many instances; and that is unacceptable.

But it is not enough to come down here today and condemn from afar. I think we also have to today say, in addition to the fact that we condemn terrorism, we have to examine our role as a country, our foreign policy. We cannot stand on the sidelines. We have to have more engagement. We have to press for a workable and serious ceasefire. We have to continue the peace process, because it is only through the

peace process that we can end the shedding of innocent blood. And we have to have accountability for individuals and countries, some of whom are our allies, who tolerate, incite, and ignore the proposals of hatred within their own borders. Because it is this cycle of hatred that really causes the violence that we decry today.

So we need to both condemn today the terrorism that caused these tragic deaths and also look inside our own foreign policy to see how we can do more to combat this problem that is affecting the Middle East today.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOFFEL).

Mr. HOFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise in strong support of this resolution today.

The increased violence in the Middle East and the horrible acts of terror against Israelis have recaptured the attention of the world. And as we refocus on the Middle East, and in our mutual search for peace, we have to be willing to denounce and decry the horrible acts of violence against civilians. The inexcusable terror directed against Israelis must be condemned by the world.

We must hold Yasar Arafat responsible for stopping that terror. Israel surely has a right to hold him responsible, the United Nations and the United States must hold him responsible, and the world must hold him responsible.

Israel surely has a right to defend herself, and we are seeing that today. She surely has a right to act firmly to prevent further acts of terror. But we must, as we criticize appropriately Yasar Arafat, we have to keep our eyes on the ball, which is not so much Yasar Arafat and his terrible failings, but the hope that is offered by George Mitchell and George Tenet. The Mitchell plan and the Tenet principles to restart the peace process have to be the focus of this country.

We need to move forward with a cooling off period, a cease-fire, of confidence-building measures and must restart the peace process. That is the highest priority, and I call on the House to give our full support to it.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 1½ minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OTTER). The Chair would advise that the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 1 minute remaining.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH) is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member of the Committee

on International Relations as well as the ranking member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce for yielding me this time.

I urge my colleagues to read the resolution. I urge my colleagues to read it because I think when they read it, there should be no votes against it on the floor. I know a number of Members have spoken against it today; but I urge them to read the specifics, because I do not think there is anything in this resolution that any Member in good faith can be against.

There are things that Members can object to about Israeli policies, and there is a debate that we can go and we should articulate. But what this resolution is really talking to is specifically acts of terrorism, acts of terrorism that, as Mr. Zinn has said, and I quote, "the deepest evil one can imagine." And that is what we are condemning today, to show that this Congress and the American people are grieving, are feeling some of the pain, although not as significant as the pain that Israelis individually and families are feeling today.

We have a unique role to play as America, as the world's only superpower, as a linchpin of Israel's survival and security. In fact, our role as Members of Congress are as linchpins of any potential peace in the region.

I have not given up hope. This week, Jews throughout the world are going to read a passage in the Torah about Joseph being thrown into slavery and being in a prison, and it looks as if the worst possible time exists for him. Yet at that worst possible time, by our faith and by our belief, we understand that there is hope for peace.

But I urge all of my colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 7 minutes.

This is a very important debate and one which merits the careful attention of all of our colleagues. And it is one on which the body here should remain focused on the issues which are before us.

What is the real issue that confronts the United States? Is it this resolution, or is it real and lasting peace in the Middle East? The answer is our concerns are peace in the Middle East, peace for the Israelis, peace for the Palestinians, peace for the other Arab and Muslim countries in the area. And without that, there will be no peace and no security for the United States, as September 11 shows us.

I have heard a number of my colleagues say, that, you are either for us or against us on terrorism. I am aware of no one in this body who does not join me in opposition to terrorism. And I am aware of no one in this body who does not feel that peace is in the best interest of all. I am also aware of no member here who is not supportive of the continued existence of the State of

Israel, and who does not feel that this should be a part of American policy and concern.

I am troubled, however, when I hear some of my colleagues, as they have done in this debate, talk about how the issue here is terrorism, and you are either with us or against us on terrorism. Not so! The issue is peace and how to achieve it. That must be our debate and our focus.

□ 1430

Peace is the important issue, and it is the one that concerns us above all others in the Mid East. It is one which we have addressed in our resolutions earlier and which we are addressing now through actions diplomatically and militarily.

Now what should be the focus of the debate here is something quite different, and that is how we focus the efforts and the energies of the United States to bring about peace. I have introduced H. Con. Res. 253 which expresses support for the Mitchell Commission Report. No action has been taken by the Committee on International Relations, and yet that is something which the United States should be speaking and upon which this body should be speaking.

I have heard nothing in this debate from the other side about what they propose to do to bring about a real peace. Is the termination of the existence of Mr. Arafat as the head of the Palestinian Authority in the best interests of the United States? Will that resolve the controversies? No, it will simply eliminate somebody who is a potential participant in meaningful peace talks, and one who with proper support can provide useful leadership.

What we suggest here is to bring all of the parties together and make them talk. Let us use the full prestige and the power of United States to accomplish that purpose. That is far better. Each day that passes means more risk of the kind of terrible crimes that we saw in the killing of scores of Israelis and the wounding of many, many more.

This is what we are talking about. The best interests of Israel, the best interests of the Palestinians, and the best interests of the United States are found most powerfully in the resolution of the controversies there. These controversies create bitter and angry people who are going to engage in terrorist activities and are the real risk to the people of the world, and to world peace.

I am surprised that my colleagues are not more publicly aware of this. We are not talking for or against Israel. We are not talking for or against the Palestinians. We are talking about two things: one, peace; and, two, a process which has to be bottomed on justice and a sense of justice by all of the parties in the area.

I do not know what I have to do to have my colleagues here understand

that the interest of the United States will never be served by the conflict which exists in the Middle East, or what I have to do to have my colleagues understand that this kind of Resolution really does nothing to resolve those kinds of problems, or to make my colleagues understand that peace and security for Israel or the United States or Palestine lies only in one thing and that is a negotiated settlement in which they have come to an agreement themselves. This is something which can only be forced by the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I see nothing of that kind moving forward in this discussion. I see only further actions taken by the United States to continue what is going on now, to see the killings in Israel going on, to see frustrated, angry people going out to commit suicide just to kill a few people that they hate, lets understand that this is a risk which has already visited the United States on September 11. To begin to force the peace process to work is the one interest that we should discuss in the United States today. Regretably we are not doing so.

We could be discussing how we are going to bring these people to the table. I have heard a rich abundance of denunciation of Mr. Arafat. I remind all here I do not rise to defend Mr. Arafat, but he is the leader of the Palestinian people. We have none other to do this and no assurance that his successor will be more able or compliant.

Killings going on, and innocent people on both sides, Israelis, Palestinians and others, are being killed. I have heard great concern about the Israelis, and I share that concern. What happened the other day is terrible, it is criminal and indefensible. I have heard very little about what has transpired with the Palestinians. And I have heard even less of an awareness in this body. The failure of the United States to address this matter vigorously and to see to it that the root causes and the differences of the Israeli people and the people of the occupied territories are negotiated away is a real interest of the United States which must be addressed.

Why is it that there are so few in this body that cannot understand that? Why is it that we are debating the faults of Mr. Arafat unless we have a better alternative and a better leader acceptable to the Palestinian people. Why is it that we are failing to discuss peace and a really meaningful way of achieving that peace?

That is the end to terrorism and killing. That is the beginning of peace for Israel. It is a beginning of an end to the sorrows and misfortunes of the Israelis. It is also a beginning of an end to the sorrows and the travails that are felt by the Palestinian people.

We should be discussing these matters, and we should begin to set a pol-

icy in the United States where we are forcibly going to address these concerns and where we are finally taking meaningful action to ensure lasting peace.

I am not asking my colleagues to embark on an easy trip. I am asking them to look to find what alternative there are and then to join me and other decent people in an American effort to bring peace to the Middle East for the Israelis, and for the people of the occupied territories. We must assure we do this while we still have friends who are leading countries in the area and while we still bring all parties to the table to commence a meaningful and strong effort for peace.

I ask with each passing day, does the cause of peace get stronger with the killing of innocent Israelis in Israel or the killing of innocent Palestinians in the occupied territories? Do the frustrations and angers and the bitterness and the hate that is building over there add a single thing to our prospects for peace? I suggest not. I do suggest that we commence the beginning of a meaningful process forced with every effort that this country can put into it to abate this terrible situation.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I have had the opportunity to visit Israel and meet with the leaders and also meet with Chairman Arafat both in 1995 and 1999. In the times I was there and even up until last year, the United States was engaged in the peace process to the point of putting the prestige of this country and the Presidency to try to bring peace to Israel and the Palestinian question.

What happened, though, was that Chairman Arafat walked away. Whatever the reason, all of the reports from the United States is that he walked away from a peace process. The Government of Israel changed in response to that; and, of course, now we have been in the latest infatada with the loss of lives on both sides.

I add my voice in support for this resolution because as we see the loss of innocent life in Israel it condemns terrorism, whether it is on the street of New York, on the streets of Washington, or in Ben Yehuda in Jerusalem. Our country is at war because of terrorism. We lost thousands of people because of terrorism. Killing and injuring innocent people should be stopped, and it should be stopped whether it is Washington, New York, or Jerusalem or Tel Aviv.

Our friendship with Israel has not even been considered. We have been a friend of Israel for many years, and

that is strong. There is no way we can condone or encourage or be silent in the loss of the innocent people that happened this last weekend.

I have an opportunity to walk the streets of Jerusalem at the very spot those bombs went off, and I think this resolution is mild compared to what should be done. I am proud of this Congress and the President of the United States in condemning the terrorism, again whether it is here in our country or anywhere in the world.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. RAHALL).

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan for yielding me this time and for his excellent leadership on the question before us today.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly condemn the horror that was inflicted upon innocent Israeli men, women and children by suicide bombers. I condemn that violence at all times and all places.

I think it is important to note that we can either oppose or vote present on this resolution today and still be considered a supporter of the State of Israel and a friend of Israel and a supporter of the long-standing relationship between the United States and Israel, and do not let any outside group in this town try to characterize Members in any other way, because it is possible.

Secretary Powell said it best when he phoned Chairman Arafat after the latest bombings and said this was an attack upon Arafat's authority as well as an attack upon innocent men, women and children. I think that has been lost today. In all of the demands that Arafat must go, we have lost sight that these suicide bombers were indeed attacking Chairman Arafat himself.

As I condemn the horror of the past weekend, I strongly condemn the horror that has been inflicted upon innocent Palestinians, men, women and children, carried out by the Israeli Occupation Forces, including, within the last 2 weeks, five innocent Palestinian schoolboys killed in the Gaza refugee camp just within the last 2 weeks. Such terror, such disproportionate use of power and force, continued humiliation, demolition of homes and one's livelihood by destroying their crops on their own land, such daily restriction of one's movements of the Palestinians by the Israeli Defense Forces, and I could go on and on, all of which have been accelerated over the past 14 to 15 months, but all of these events, both sides should be just as equally deplored by those concerned about human rights abuses around the world, about fairness and about peace. Every one of these attacks should be condemned.

Some in the Israeli government obviously very clearly by their own words want to get Arafat. Some statements today have alluded very strongly to the

fact that we have got to get Arafat. But such action, indeed such action as this resolution today and those that call for Arafat's demise, will do zero, will do nothing to reach that just peace and may even exacerbate and take us backward from achieving that just peace that we all want to achieve.

Getting Arafat is no solution. Continued humiliation is no solution. This is the method of operation of bullies, not of those who want to return to the peace process, to the negotiating table, where, as any individual involved in negotiations knows, each party has to give a little. There is a give and take in the negotiating process. Is that the real fear here?

The military option will not secure a peace in the Middle East. The military option will not work. No peace can be achieved; and indeed, as I read through this resolution, and there are good points in this resolution about condemning terrorism, but I fail to find the word "peace" mentioned once in this resolution. Peace.

□ 1445

Peace. Maybe I need to read it without my glasses, but I have not found the word "peace" mentioned once in this resolution before us today.

Now, it is all good, or some of it is good, not all good, but some of it is good. Yes, prosecute such terrorists. Provide them with the stiffest possible punishment. Yes, ensure that they remain in custody.

Well, my question is, the Israelis today are bombing all the Palestinian police stations, their security operations. Where is Arafat going to keep those he arrests, in the living room by the fireplace in his home? So the Israelis are making it impossible to fulfill the demands that are being placed upon Arafat in this resolution today.

What if every demand in this resolution were met by 9 o'clock tomorrow morning? Would that end terrorism? Would we have peace?

Indeed, I might announce to my colleagues, as we speak, an announcement has been reached of a cease-fire, a 12-hour cease-fire, just announced between Chairman Arafat and the Israelis; and he has until whatever the 12-hour expiration time is to arrest certain militants. So let us let the parties work their will.

So, let us look at the consequences of our actions here today, and, indeed, actions of this body, regardless of whether they have the force of law or not, which this, of course, does not. But they do send a message to the participants in the Middle East.

I have traveled the region enough, extensively, including less than 2 weeks ago, having met with Chairman Arafat, President Mubarak, the Prime Minister of Lebanon, President Assad of Syria; and I know that they get a

wrong signal when we pass resolutions of this nature.

So I say to my colleagues, let us truly get at the roots of terrorism. We know the causes of hatred in this part of the world. Secretary Powell said it in his speech of November 19. The occupation must end. The occupation must end, the continued expansion and building of new settlements. That is confiscation of Palestinian land.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleagues, please understand, that is the root of the problem here. That is what we should be addressing in this very good debate. And I commend all sides for conducting this debate today. But let us not ignore the true roots of the problem, if we indeed want to restart the peace process.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAHALL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, one of the issues that seems to be at the heart of one of the discussions going on here today is whether or not the terrorism which we are condemning in this resolution, which I support wholeheartedly, is intentional, which we understand, but whether or not those actions on the part of the Israeli Government which result in the death of noncombatants, whether that is just collateral damage.

The gentleman has been in the Middle East many times and knows many of the players. From a firsthand point of view, does the gentleman believe that the damage that is being done to noncombatants by the Israeli army is unintentional?

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, the gentleman asks a good question; and certainly in the eyes of many in the region, those who suffer from this infliction of horror, their answer would be yes, that it is intentional. That would be their response. That is something we must understand from our perspective, if we truly want to end the horror and the violence that comes from all sides. Indeed, there is no side that is lily white in the Middle East. Make no mistake about it, we must truly look at the causes of terrorism.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, closing the debate on our side, there is no moral equivalence between terrorists and the victims of terrorism. What this resolution does, and I am proud to join the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) in being the principal sponsor of this resolution, what this resolution does is it expresses the solidarity of the American people who were victims of terrorism on September 11 with the people of Israel who were victims again just this past weekend.

We want peace, but we will not get to peace as long as there is an attempt to

create a moral equivalence between a corrupt dictatorship and its terrorist tactics and the democratic ally of the United States.

I urge all of my colleagues to vote for this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, it is hard to help my colleagues understand the defect of this legislation, which is that it takes sides. It does this in a way which does not need to be taken, in a fashion and at a time when it is not in our National interest.

I condemn terrorism, and I condemn the killing of the innocent Israelis in Israel just recently, just as I do the killing of thousands of Americans on September 11. The roots of the events were somewhat the same: frustration, anger, ill will, hatred, and all of the things that are generated by the kind of situation that has gone on too long in the Middle East.

These are events which are not blameable on one person or another, and I do not believe that the blood of the small Palestinian boy who died in his father's arms from Israeli gunfire is any more pleasing in the eye of the almighty God than is the death of the scores of Israelis who died the other day in Israel because of a terrorist bomb. But those are really not the questions that we should be addressing here.

I just want my colleagues to keep this in mind: if the problems of the Mideast are to be resolved and if peace is to be achieved there, it is going to take an enormous effort by the United States and by every other peace loving Nation. I would note to my colleagues that it is not done by attacking other Members of this body because of their concern, and it is not done by rejecting the opportunity to use different people who are major players in that area.

If we are to succeed, we must call on everyone, the Israeli leadership, Yasar Arafat, the Palestinians, the people of Israel, the people of the United States, Lebanon and the countries like Jordan and Egypt, to help get their assistance in bringing about a viable, lasting peace, negotiated between the parties. We will also need the help of other countries in Africa, Europe, Asia and the two American continents.

I see nothing of that kind in this resolution. This resolution, as the gentleman from West Virginia mentioned, does not even use the word "peace." This is what we should be talking about if we are really interested in serving the best interests of the United States. Peace, peace in the Middle East, peace with dignity and honor and respect, for and from all of the parties of that unfortunate area, and how we are to achieve it for all.

That is our interest. And that is what we should be addressing. We cannot

gain anything by castigating or criticizing anyone here, or elsewhere. Our role must be that of an honest impartial broker. We must travel the long and hard path for peace; and we must start it now, not tomorrow, not sometime in the future. And we must do it by making the parties negotiate these differences out themselves, so that there can be contentment and peace and security in Israel, but also in the occupied territories; so no longer is there frustration, hunger, unemployment, misfortune in the occupied territories, and so no longer is there risk of death and destruction in Israel. That is what the interests of the United States should be and calls upon us to do. We do not serve our country well if we fail to start this effort—Now! And with great resolve.

The passing of a resolution of this kind simply shows the Arab people that the United States again is taking sides in a confrontation. It is not in the interests of this country to take sides. It is in the interests of this country to be an honest broker, who can be trusted by all of the parties there, because securing peace can only be done by the efforts of the United States leading the peace loving Nations of the world in a great and difficult effort. The bombing and killing by suicide bombers is not going to get peace. The rockets and missiles and helicopter attacks by the Israelis are going to achieve nothing. Nor will suicide bombing by terrorists. The only solution to this is negotiations between the parties to resolve the issues.

Why is it that my colleagues do not understand this simple fact. Why are we not here talking about how we remove the root causes of trouble and get down to the business of bringing about a real and lasting peace that benefits all of the people of the area and benefits the interests of the United States? That is the question we should be asking.

Taking sides benefits us not at all, but getting lasting peace does. This is not the way to get lasting peace. This is simply the way to alienate more people in the area and cause ourselves more enemies, more trouble, more risk, more peril, more killings, more misfortune for Israelis and Palestinians alike, and a longer time to achieve peace.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OTTER). The gentleman from Illinois is recognized for 3½ minutes.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, well, this has been a stimulating debate, and it has been educational. I would like to respond as much as I can to some of the critics of the resolution.

My good friend, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), describes a resolution which my resolution never

was. He wants to head it in the direction of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, something that has eluded some of the finest minds in the world for hundreds of years, certainly since 1948 with the founding of Israel. Many, many people, including the former President of the United States, spent hours and hours with the parties trying to get peace. Everybody is for peace; but in the words of Patrick Henry, "Peace, peace, there is no peace."

So, I did not pretend, I was not arrogant enough to decide I would set out a formula for peace. If I could do that, I certainly would do it. All I am trying to do is respond to the famous lines in Arthur Miller's play, "Death of a Salesman," where Willie Loman's wife, Linda, says, "A man is dying. Attention must be paid." Attention must be paid to what is going on in Israel.

How would you like to be a mother, and every day wonder if your little girl going to school will come home with all her limbs, with her life? It is a hellish way to live. I simply was trying to call attention to the horror, the indescribable horror of acts of terrorism, and show solidarity as a co-victim of horrible acts of terrorism. It is American to put your arms around a fellow democracy and not turn your back on them in their hour of need. That is what we were doing.

This simply says that when acts of terror occur, attention must be paid. It must be pointed out. We must shout about it, we must make an example of it, we must show the world the horror of what is going on. And maybe, just maybe, one day we will all get so sick of it we will not tolerate it anymore.

The gentleman from Michigan sets up a straw man. Not one word about peace. Everything we do is about peace, and objecting to terrorism is about peace, and showing solidarity to the Israeli people and to the Palestinian people.

The next time, if any, there is an atrocity, an act of terror by the State of Israel, bring a resolution to the floor. We will debate it. We will debate it. But I have not heard one. I have not seen one. Bring it to the floor and let us debate it.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HYDE. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman just mentioned the Palestinian people. I wonder if that was mentioned in the resolution, expressing the concern for their plight as well. I wonder if that was in the resolution and I happened to overlook it.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, the Palestinian involvement in the atrocity of last Saturday is mentioned, because this focuses on what happened in Jerusalem, when 26 women and children and men were killed and 1,200 were injured. That is what we are talking about.

Mr. Speaker, support our expression of solidarity with the victims of this horrible act of terrorism. Support the resolution.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) be granted 2 additional minutes, because the gentleman mentioned me and I would like to have his attention on that matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HYDE. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

□ 1500

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to rebut what my dear and valued friend has said about me. I do not remember setting up a straw man, but I would like to say the gentleman has mentioned H. Con. Res. 253 which I sponsored earlier and with which the gentleman has suggested a great deal of sympathy. I wonder if maybe the committee could bring that proposal to the floor. It is a fair and even-handed statement. It is supported by the administration. It urges that the United States have as its policy the carrying forward of the Mitchell report. Why is it that we cannot have something like that before us?

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I have no idea. If the staff will bring it to my attention, we will give it the most careful scrutiny. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and I will do it together.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I would be delighted to have the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) put that bill on the floor so that perhaps we could be together on something that is in the interest of the United States.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, it would also be a pleasure to be with the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL).

Mr. WAXMAN. I rise in strong support for H. Con. Res. 280 and join my colleagues in condemning Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian terrorists responsible for the massacre of innocent Israeli civilians.

In the past six months alone, Hamas suicide bombers have murdered teenagers at the discotheque in Tel Aviv, commuters on a rush hour bus ride in Haifa, pedestrians at a busy intersection in Afula, families eating lunch at a pizza store in Jerusalem, and a street filled with young Israelis and Americans out for a Saturday night in the heart of the nation's capital.

On a daily basis, the Tanzim and Force 17, Yasser Arafat's Fatah paramilitary forces, shoot at Israeli motorists on their way to work, school, or returning to their homes.

Instead of arresting, prosecuting, and outlawing these terrorists, Yasser Arafat has deliberately given them free reign, safe harbor,

and license to organize and carry out heinous attacks. Instead of condemning anti-Israel incitement in Palestinian media, schools, and mosques, he has contributed the free flow of hatred that seeks to legitimize violence. And in doing so, he has turned the Palestinian Authority into nothing short of the Taliban.

The horrific events of September 11 have tragically brought home to all Americans the terrorism that Israel has long been suffering. Our solidarity has never been stronger or more important.

Now more than ever, we must renew the common purpose, strategic goals and democratic ideals that are the cement of strong U.S.-Israel relations. We must join together with Israel in defending our citizens, our values, and our future from the shadow of terrorism.

That is why this resolution determines that the United States should break off all diplomatic relations with the Palestinian Authority unless immediate action is taken to destroy the Palestinian terrorist network and arrest the perpetrators of these terrorist crimes.

Yasser Arafat must be held accountable, and there is no reason to contemplate the creation of a Palestinian state unless he can demonstrate that the terrorism will end. So far he has been unwilling to achieve this for even seven days, giving neither Israel nor the United States reason to be confident that he has the will or ability to do so permanently.

But one thing is certain—Israel as a sovereign nation has the right to take all measures necessary to defend its citizens, and it is in the interest of the United States to support its ability to do so.

Now is the time for us to pressure Yasser Arafat to crush the terrorist networks within his grasp, and urge all civilized nations of the world to abandon the ongoing efforts by Arab and Islamic states to isolate Israel in this time of crisis.

Just hours ago in Geneva, an international conference convened to condemn Israel for violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which was adopted in response to Nazi atrocities during the Holocaust. The agenda included biased determinations on the final status of Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees, and the imposition of a United Nations observer force.

Only yesterday, the U.N. General Assembly overwhelming voted for resolutions advocating the creation of a Palestinian state, Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, and rejecting Jerusalem's status as the capital of Israel as "illegal and therefore null and void."

These one-sided determinations are irresponsible and counterproductive. They devastate the constructive role the international community could play in ending the violence and terrorism that have taken so many American and Israeli lives.

I commend the Administration for staunchly opposing these forums, and I applaud its actions yesterday to freeze the assets of the charities and banks raising funds in the United States to support the terrorist activities Hamas and other Palestinian groups.

Today we must do more. We must pass H. Con. Res. 280 and let Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian terrorist organizations know that there is a line that separates outlaws from the

rest of civilized society and they have crossed it.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 280, and urge all members to vote in support of this measure that expresses our solidarity with the people of Israel at this difficult time.

Now we know; now we understand. As Americans, we know. We see the people running down the street in panic and it looks all too familiar. Now we know.

We hear the sirens and see the dead and injured, and as much as thought we knew, now we know.

We sometimes joked about Israelis and their cell phone, and now we know how it must feel to wait for the call from your teenager who is out for the evening with friends saying, "Mom, I'm OK," or just waiting for that call.

We now know the rage and frustrations of being attacked by those who prefer to die than live, and who plot and scheme to take innocent life with them.

We now know the courage and determination it takes to "just live your life" when "just going shopping, out to eat or riding the bus can be life threatening.

And while hopefully we will not know what it is like to live for half a century and more on constant high alert, we understand better now intolerable that must be.

And now that it happened to here, in a place many believed was immune to such an attack, we know that terrorists must be answered, and those who harbor or support terrorists must be held accountable.

And we know, as we pray for peace, leave space for peace, continue to work for the miracle of peace in this holiday season, we know that we must defend ourselves and our children.

And we know, as Americans who love Israel, that as people, as a community, and as nations we must be united more than ever before in defense of that tiny and precious plot of land, surrounded day in and day out by hatred and danger, where our brothers and sisters want only one thing, and that is to live in peace and freedom.

I commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for introducing this important measure and I urge all of my colleagues to support it.

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Con. Res. 280. Like the recent attacks on our country, the terrorist bombings in Israel are horrific. Once again innocent civilians have been brutally murdered by terrorists. Israel is a democracy under siege. As the world's leading democracy the United States cannot, in good conscience, stand idly by while a democratic ally is being brutally attacked by evildoers.

For too long the Palestinian Authority has preached peace while terrorists use its territory as a safe haven. Even after President Bush endorsed the idea of a Palestinian state the attacks continued. If the Palestinian Authority wants to be a government it must act like one by stopping these suicide bombings from being planned and launched from its territory. The Palestinian Authority's leader, Yasser Arafat, has condemned the attacks. But he has done so before and the attacks

against Israel continue. Chairman Arafat must do more than offer sympathetic remarks. I applaud and support President Bush's response and hope that Chairman Arafat's actions will back up his words and stop these attacks.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Con. Res. 280, which extends our deepest sympathies to the people of Israel for the recent string of deadly terrorist attacks in their nation and expresses our sense of solidarity with them in this difficult time.

The people of Israel have long had to live with terror on their street, and the world has largely stood by and felt great sympathy but little need to act upon it. But these attacks come at a time of heightened awareness around the globe of the necessary of riding our communities of the evil face of terrorism. Peaceful people have been made prisoners in their own communities by those who give no thought to the deadly consequences of their actions and who spread venomous hatred for their fellow man.

On September 11th, those free and peaceful people said with one resounding voice that they would no longer allow that kind of evil to destroy our world.

The war against terrorism is not America's war alone. It is a fight that we lead for freedom-loving people everywhere. Though there may be fewer dead and less extensive damage, the horrific attacks that occurred over a 14-hour period this weekend in Israel are no less atrocious than the attacks our nation suffered on September 11th. The mothers and fathers who lost their children in each of those attacks cry the same tears and feel the same pain.

We, as a nation, must stand beside our friend, Israel, in this time of need and support her in the fight to provide a prosperous, peaceful, and secure future for her people. I urge my colleagues to support Israel by supporting this resolution.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker. I rise in support of H. Con. Res. 280, of which I am a cosponsor.

On Saturday, December 1st, suicide bombers killed 10 teenage Israelis and wounded more than 150 others in downtown Jerusalem. On Sunday morning, just 14 hours after the first horrific attack, a suicide bomber boarded a local bus route in the northern port city of Haifa, killing 15 and wounding 35. The victims of these attacks range in age from 14 to 75; they include students, senior citizens, and a Filipino nanny. The terrorist organization Hamas claimed responsibility for their cowardly attacks.

Since September 11th, international attention has been deflected from the everyday acts of violence in Israel to the United States' war on terrorism. Recently President Bush brought the Arab-Israeli conflict back under public purview by sending U.S. peace envoy General Anthony Zinni to the region to promote a cease-fire and possible resumption of peace talks.

When Palestinian terrorists killed 26 and wounded 175 Israelis within a matter of 24 hours, Palestinian Authority Chairman Arafat's commitment to find and prosecute terrorists was called into question, and Israel subsequently launched its own war against terrorism. Twenty-four hours after the suicide

bombing in Haifa, and 36 hours after the bombings in Jerusalem, Israel retaliated against the Palestinian Authority by bombing chairman Yasser Arafat's headquarters in Gaza Strip, and police buildings in the West Bank town of Jenin.

I rise in agreement with Prime Minister Sharon and President Bush. As the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Yasser Arafat has on more than one occasion voiced his commitment to peace, and his desire to fight terrorism. Yet words alone are not enough; they necessitate action. Yasser Arafat must take an active and responsible role in tracking and arresting those involved in terrorist activities. As the leader of the Palestinian people, Yasser Arafat must utilize his power to reign in the extraneous terrorist factions that continue to lash out at innocent Israeli civilians.

This resolution, H. Con. Res. 280, holds Arafat responsible for the actions of all his people, including Palestinian terrorists. It expresses the United States' solidarity with Israel during this difficult and emotional time. Now, more than ever, we must stand strong with our democratic allies to fight terrorist groups worldwide.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, today, I voted "present" on this Concurrent Resolution because it is my belief that the United States through the House of Representatives should remain a fair and honest broker in the Middle East. At a time when hostilities in the Middle East are escalating and all parties are looking to American officials to negotiate a fair and equitable solution, I believe that this Resolution is ill timed and diminishes the credibility of the negotiation process. It is imperative that all steps we take in this House secure our position as an impartial broker in the Middle East and this measure does not do this.

Make no mistake. I stand against terrorism and the killing of innocent civilians such as those that occurred in Israel this past weekend. I condemn them wholeheartedly. Both sides in the conflict, however, have the blood of innocents on their hands. Both sides in this conflict must make extraordinary and concerted efforts to come to the negotiating table and resolve the problems of the region. I support the findings of the Mitchell-Tenet Commission, which recommended that Congress not approve such resolutions. I regret that Congress is ignoring that recommendation. By doing so, the action of this chamber only serves to prolong the hostilities in that region and discourages both sides from engaging in the negotiation process. I strongly urge the parties to cease hostilities and do all they can to move forward with the Mitchell-Tenet recommendations.

Mr. Hyde, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OTTER). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution H. Con. Res. 280.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Debate has concluded on all motions to suspend the rules.

Pursuant to clause 8, rule XX, the Chair will now put the question on motions to suspend the rules on which further proceedings were postponed yesterday and earlier today.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

H. Res. 298, by the yeas and nays;

H. Con. Res. 232, by the yeas and nays; and

H. Con. Res. 280, by the yeas and nays.

The Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the time for any electronic vote after the first such vote in this series.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THAT VET- ERANS DAY CONTINUES TO BE OBSERVED ON NOVEMBER 11

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the resolution, H. Res. 298.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 298, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 415, nays 0, not voting 18, as follows:

[Roll No. 472]

YEAS—415

Abercrombie	Biggert	Calvert	Cramer	Houghton	Napolitano
Ackerman	Bilirakis	Camp	Crane	Hoyer	Neal
Aderholt	Bishop	Cannon	Crenshaw	Hulshof	Nethercutt
Akin	Blagojevich	Cantor	Crowley	Hunter	Northup
Allen	Blumenauer	Capito	Culberson	Hyde	Norwood
Andrews	Blunt	Capps	Cummings	Inslee	Nussle
Armey	Boehler	Capuano	Cunningham	Isakson	Oberstar
Baca	Boehner	Cardin	Davis (CA)	Israel	Obey
Bachus	Bonilla	Carson (IN)	Davis (FL)	Issa	Olver
Baird	Bonior	Carson (OK)	Davis (IL)	Istook	Ortiz
Baker	Bono	Castle	Davis, Jo Ann	Jackson (IL)	Osborne
Baldacci	Boozman	Chabot	Deal	Jackson-Lee	Ose
Baldwin	Borski	Chambliss	DeGette	(TX)	Otter
Ballenger	Boswell	Clay	DeLauro	Jefferson	Owens
Barcia	Boucher	Clayton	DeLay	Jenkins	Oxley
Barr	Boyd	Clement	DeMint	John	Pallone
Barrett	Brady (PA)	Clyburn	Deutsch	Johnson (CT)	Pascarell
Bartlett	Brady (TX)	Coble	Diaz-Balart	Johnson (IL)	Pastor
Barton	Brown (FL)	Collins	Dicks	Johnson, E. B.	Paul
Bass	Brown (OH)	Combest	Dingell	Jones (NC)	Payne
Becerra	Brown (SC)	Condit	Doggett	Jones (OH)	Pelosi
Bentsen	Bryant	Conyers	Dooley	Kanjorski	Pence
Bereuter	Burr	Cooksey	Doolittle	Kaptur	Peterson (MN)
Berkley	Burton	Costello	Doyle	Keller	Peterson (PA)
Berman	Buyer	Cox	Dreier	Kelly	Petri
Berry	Callahan	Coyne	Duncan	Kennedy (MN)	Phelps
			Dunn	Kennedy (RI)	Pickering
			Edwards	Kerns	Pitts
			Ehlers	Kildee	Platts
			Ehrlich	Kilpatrick	Pombo
			Emerson	Kind (WI)	Pomeroy
			Engel	King (NY)	Portman
			English	Kirk	Price (NC)
			Eshoo	Kleczka	Pryce (OH)
			Etheridge	Knollenberg	Putnam
			Evans	Kolbe	Radanovich
			Everett	LaFalce	Rahall
			Farr	LaHood	Ramstad
			Fattah	Lampson	Rangel
			Ferguson	Langevin	Regula
			Filner	Lantos	Rehberg
			Flake	Largent	Reynolds
			Fletcher	Larsen (WA)	Riley
			Foley	Larson (CT)	Rivers
			Forbes	Latham	Rodriguez
			Ford	Leach	Roemer
			Fossella	Lee	Rogers (KY)
			Frank	Levin	Rogers (MI)
			Frelinghuysen	Lewis (CA)	Rohrabacher
			Frost	Lewis (GA)	Ros-Lehtinen
			Gallegly	Lewis (KY)	Ross
			Ganske	Linder	Rothman
			Gekas	Lipinski	Roybal-Allard
			Gephardt	LoBiondo	Royce
			Gibbons	Lofgren	Rush
			Gilchrest	Lowey	Ryan (WI)
			Gillmor	Lucas (KY)	Ryun (KS)
			Gilman	Lucas (OK)	Sabo
			Gonzalez	Luther	Sanders
			Goode	Lynch	Sandlin
			Goodlatte	Maloney (CT)	Sawyer
			Gordon	Maloney (NY)	Saxton
			Goss	Manzullo	Schaffer
			Graham	Mascara	Schakowsky
			Granger	Matheson	Schiff
			Graves	Matsui	Schrock
			Green (TX)	McCarthy (MO)	Scott
			Green (WI)	McCarthy (NY)	Sensenbrenner
			Greenwood	McCollum	Serrano
			Grucci	McCrery	Sessions
			Gutknecht	McDermott	Shadegg
			Hall (OH)	McGovern	Shaw
			Hall (TX)	McHugh	Shays
			Hansen	McInnis	Sherman
			Harman	McIntyre	Sherwood
			Hart	McKeon	Shimkus
			Hastings (FL)	McKinney	Shows
			Hastings (WA)	McNulty	Shuster
			Hayworth	Meeks (NY)	Simmons
			Hefley	Menendez	Simpson
			Heger	Mica	Skeen
			Hill	Millender-	Skelton
			Hillery	McDonald	Slaughter
			Hilliard	Miller, Dan	Smith (MI)
			Hinched	Miller, Gary	Smith (NJ)
			Hinojosa	Miller, George	Smith (TX)
			Hobson	Miller, Jeff	Smith (WA)
			Hoefel	Mink	Snyder
			Hoekstra	Mollohan	Solis
			Holden	Moore	Souder
			Holt	Moran (KS)	Spratt
			Honda	Moran (VA)	Stark
			Hoolley	Morella	Stearns
			Horn	Murtha	Stenholm
				Myrick	Strickland
				Nadler	Stump